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It is probable that the Vandravandra clan is related to a historic group of sailors and fishermen who were expelled from Mbau island and fled eastward. Remnants of this group are known to have settled in the Lomai Viti islands, at Levuka village on Lakemba, and elsewhere in eastern Fiji. The Levuka people call themselves *kai wai*. In the past they formed a professional caste. The men were sailors and traders and the women were potters.

According to Hocart (15, p. 18), the Ndaulakemba clan of Levuka holds the hereditary clan title of master fisherman (*ndau*). The two clans of sea people in southern Lau, Vandravandra and Tawalo, also hold the title of master fisherman. On Kambara and Mothe the title is held, however, by clans that are not called sea people. The master fisherman of Kambara belongs to the Vuanitavola clan of the chiefs' phratry and that of Mothe to the Nggali clan of the land phratry. On Fulanga, the master fisherman holds an especially high local rank. He is considered to be chief of the sea, as Tui Fulanga is chief of the land. This may be because fishing is particularly important as a source of food on Fulanga where the master fisherman has retained more of his functions than on any other island in southern Lau.

THE CLAN

I have used the term clan (*matanggali*) to designate a unilateral kinship unit which is, as a rule, exogamous, patrilineal, and patrilocal.

Theoretically, a clan consists of the descendants of a band of brothers who occupied a hamlet site. A few clans trace their pedigrees to the original bands. Hamlet sites are found on the islands today, in garden land or in the bush. They often bear the names of the clan or subclans which formerly occupied them. They are usually near a fortress site, which is located on a promontory or hill, and defended by means of tiers of rough stone walls. Old informants say that the hamlet dwellers occupied the fortresses only in times of warfare. The hamlet was formerly the land-owning unit, possessing proprietary rights over the hamlet site and the garden and bush lands in the vicinity. With the cessation of warfare after the advent of Christianity most hamlets moved to more convenient sites along the coast. In this they were encouraged by the colonial government, and today all the natives live in coast villages. Several neighboring hamlets united to form one village, in which each retained its local unity. The hamlet units grew into clans and their local unity is still clear in most villages.

Formerly each clan had its own gods which were incarnated in species of natural phenomena (pp. 109-111).

Each ranking clan owns one or more hereditary titles, which determine its rank and affect the rank of its members. The titles are held by the clan headman (*turanga ni matanggali*), who directs the affairs of the group. The office of clan headman is hereditary, descending from the first-born male to his

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classificatory brothers by seniority or, if he has no brothers, to his eldest son. The title remains in the subclan of the first-born of the original band. There are, however, exceptions to this rule of succession. If the rightful descendant is mentally deficient, either the next in succession becomes headman or the elders of the clan choose a headman from among themselves. Although the affairs of the clan are discussed by the male clan elders, the headman makes important decisions and has a strong influence on the social, economic, and ceremonial activities of his clan.

The clan directs the economic activities of its members. Its headman controls the clan lands, which are divided between the subclans and frequently between families. The clan acts as an economic unit in communal industrial activities such as housebuilding, canoe building, and barkcloth manufacture, and in the provision of food and property for tribute and for village, island, and interisland feasts. As the most important ceremonial unit in the community, it regulates clan feasts, which mark a change in individual status such as birth, marriage, or death. It celebrates all clan, village, island and interisland feasts as a unit and receives one share of food at all interclan feasts.

The subclan

A large clan consists of two or three subclans. The senior subclan, direct descendant of the original clan-hamlet by primogeniture, is called *i tokatoka*. Occasionally it bears the name of one of the *tokatoka* formerly occupied by the group. It provides the clan headman. The junior subclans are called *mbatchi ni lovo* (literally "teeth or edge of the earth oven"), that is, assistants to the senior subclan in providing and preparing food for a large feast.

A subclan may originate by splitting a clan, grown too large to perform its functions or to be satisfied with one share of a large feast (pp. 41, 42). Theoretically, each part would then consist of the descendants of one of the brothers in the original band of brothers from which the clan originated. The senior subclan—the group descended from the senior branch—would hold highest rank in the clan, the other subclans ranking according to seniority. A subclan may also originate when a man, waiving the rule of patrilocal residence and patrilineal descent, marries into a clan and his children form a new subclan within that of their mother (pp. 54-55).

The subclan, functioning under the clan headman, serves to subdivide the social, economic, and ceremonial activities of the clan. It often functions as an economic unit in the daily tasks of gardening, fishing, sailing, barkcloth making, and mat plaiting. Some small subclans prepare the evening meal as a group, using the same earth oven and kitchen hut. Small feasts are celebrated by the subclan only.

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624 fishing must be obtained from the master fisherman. The request is accom-
226 panied by the ceremonial presentation of kava and is made by representatives from one or more specific clans. The master fisherman receives part of the catch, usually the two largest fish, unless these are tribute fish which must be presented to the chief. The wife or the daughter of the master fisherman leads women's communal fishing expeditions. In recent years the authority of the master fisherman has been breaking down. There is less organized fishing than there was in the past.

624 The professional title of carpenter (*matai*) is held by the headmen of
335 hereditary carpenter clans belonging to either the chief's carpenters or the *lemaki* carpenters.

The following is a tale told of the *lemaki* carpenters:

> The son of the first Lemaki in Lau accompanied Niumataiwalu, the chief of Lakemba, to Ono. One day the people of Ono decided to kill the chief. Lemaki went fishing with the throw net (*tuka*) reputed to have been introduced into Lau by Lemaki. He had a small adz with him for killing large fish. He saw the people running after the chief, so he fought his way to the chief and tried to protect him. The Ono people killed the son of Lemaki and afterward they killed Niumataiwalu. To compensate for this deed the *lemaki* carpenter group was given special privileges and a piece of land called Lekutu (Bush) near Tumbou, Lakemba.

The headman of the *lemaki* carpenter clan does not use the special chiefly vocabulary (p. 64) or the chiefly greeting (*tama*) to the chief. He may intercede (*sorovakina*) with the chief on behalf of a village or an individual, and he may eat food and drink kava in the presence of the chief.

624 Each island chief has a priest. Formerly, as mediator for the clan and its
793 ancestral forefathers and as a seer, the priest served to validate and sanctify the power of the chief. The priest was highly respected and feared. He received a large share of the first fruit offerings, which were presented to the ancestor god (*kalou vu*). The headman of a priest clan usually holds the title of *mbete*. This is largely honorary today, except on Mothe where the priest installs the chief.

624 The *mata ki Lakemba* (face toward Lakemba, envoy to Lakemba) is a
644 hereditary clan title found in every island group. He is the intermedial agent for the island group and the high chief at Lakemba. His duties are to deliver and present tribute to the high chief and to receive him or his representatives when they visit the island. In the latter capacity he is the leader of the
[428 reception and presentation ceremonies. The title descends from a man to
184] his younger brother or to his son—except on Mothe, where it is hereditary in the Nggali clan—and the bearer is chosen by the clan elders.

622 Some villages have a village chief. The chief of Nggalinggali is chosen from either Nanggara or Naivotavota clan. The present chief of Nggalinggali is from Nanggara. The title of chief of Tokalau was, until recently, held by the Matandravu subclan of the Vuanitavola clan. Tareasi Thiva was the last

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usually considered members of his mother's clan. As a rule a woman belongs to the clan of her father although after marriage she lives and functions with her husband's clan.

ADOPTION

Widows (*ndawai*), orphans (*luve ni yalo*, literally child of the ghost), and illegitimate children (*luve ni sala*, literally child of the path) are transferred from one clan to another by means of the adoption (*lakovi*) ceremony, a form of affinal exchange.

A widow usually returns to her own people. When her husband dies, her brother or a ranking member of her clan presents a whale's tooth or other property, by means of the usual presentation ceremony, to the clan of her husband with the request that the woman be allowed to return to her clan. This is called *lakovi*. If the property is accepted the widow is free to return. She usually takes at least some of her children with her. These children must also be formally transferred from the clan of their father to that of their mother, by means of the adoption ceremony. If both of a child's parents die, his mother's clan may adopt the child. Frequently, however, the father's clan retains the boys. A child adopted into his mother's clan still belongs theoretically to his father's clan, although he functions with that of his mother, for the adoption ceremony does not affect a man's clan membership, which is fixed by the rule of descent. It marks the transfer of an individual from one clan to another, and the clan losing a member is compensated for its loss by gifts of property from the clan receiving a member.

ILLEGITIMATE CHILDREN

Children born out of wedlock are numerous in Lau. According to the natives, illegitimate children formerly had a definite status in the community and were not considered undesirable. They were usually reared in the clan of their mother under the guardianship of the maternal grandfather. Although theoretically they belonged to the clan of their father, they had to be formally adopted into it by means of the adoption ceremony in order to become active members. A child then enjoyed all the rights of full membership in his father's clan. He inherited a share in the clan lands, as did the legitimate sons, and exercised the rights of a *vasu* to his mother's people.

Since the coming of the missionaries, the attitude toward illegitimate children has changed. A child born out of wedlock is not allowed to be baptized in the mission church. He may be baptized, however, in the house where the mother lives. An unmarried, pregnant woman becomes the subject of village gossip, and members of the community who have been strongly influenced in their behavior patterns by the mission show their disapproval by ignoring the birth feast, to which the whole village is invited. An illegitimate child is still considered a member of his father's clan, but today he is not accepted to full membership in the clan and is not allowed to inherit clan land.

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membership in the clan and is not allowed to inherit clan land. He is, however, given the use of a piece of land belonging to the clan with which he is associated. Actually, the illegitimate child often remains with his mother's people.

The greatest prejudice is against half-caste bastards, called *kai loma* (people-in-between). If their fathers are European they are said to have no clan at all and therefore lack membership and rank in the community.

Relationship Terms

The principles of primogeniture, seniority, and cross-cousin marriage regulate the rank of the individual within the clan. Older siblings and their descendants outrank young ones. The oldest son and his descendants hold the highest rank and inherit the clan titles. The first-born, male or female, is called the old head (*ulu matua*) and is honored by special pregnancy, birth, and initiation ceremonies.

Seniority is expressed in the kinship system by means of terms with age significance. For instance, a line is drawn between the older and the younger brothers of a man's real father (*tama*). His father's older brothers are designated by the term *tama levu* (big father), his younger brothers by the term *tama lailai* (small father). A man's older brothers and the sons of his *tama levu* are designated by the term *tuaka*; his younger brothers and the sons of his *tama lailai*, by the term *tachi*. A corresponding distinction is made in regard to the sisters of a man's mother and their sons. These differentiations reflect social attitudes expressed in behavior patterns, by which younger siblings and their descendants honor older siblings and their descendants.

It should be noted, however, that the terms with age significance are alternates for more comprehensive terms without age significance. For instance, the term *tama* (father) includes the father's brothers and the term *tachi* includes a man's brothers and male parallel cousins. In other words, there is a complete set of kinship terms without those which specify relative age. It is probable, therefore, that the age designating terms and modifiers and the principle of rank they reflect have been incorporated into a system without age and rank significance.

The Lauan kinship system is of the classificatory type. It is based on cross-cousin marriage. Kinship terms are not used as they are written in the following list, but are always followed by a possessive suffix which has been indicated by a hyphen. For example, the word *tama* (father) is never used without a possessive suffix as *tamanggu* (my father), or *tamana* (his father). Terms of address, however, are used without a possessive suffix. The same kinship term is used whether the speaker is male or female unless indicated by ms (male speaking) or fs (female speaking).

1. Tama-: Father, father's brother, father's father's brother's son, father's father's sister's son, spouse's mother's brother, and the husbands of all women designated by *tchina-* (2). The term *tama- levu* (big father) is used to specify the

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The natives collect fruits, and greens, hunt, and set traps only in the bush adjacent to their own villages. 423

Formerly, besides clearing land, a clan could acquire garden land by marriage, war, or by gift from a chief. Occasionally, when a woman of the lower class married a noble she brought a piece of land to his clan. This was called *sovisovi ni ndraundrau* (place to collect leaves.) The woman was responsible for gathering the daily supply of edible leaves. The land remained in the man's clan unless after his death his children were adopted by their mother's clan, when the land was returned with the children. If the children remained with their father's people, even though the widow went back to her people, the land was kept also. Sotchiana of Rasea clan, Fulanga, married Tchone of Vandravandra and brought a piece of land to her husband's clan. After his death she stayed with his clan and the clan kept the land. Vunise of Sau clan took a piece of land to Vunikoro when she married Lote. The land remained the property of Vunikoro. When Semitchi of Mbete subclan, Kambara, married Kalavu of Lomatchi, she brought a piece of land. Land is no longer acquired in this fashion. If one village conquered another the victors class married a noble she brought a piece of land to his clan. This was called *ka ni mbula* (thing of life). Land was also given by one village to another in return for help in warfare, but it has been several generations since land has changed hands through warfare. 425 [565]

Today a clan may acquire the ownership of new garden land only by clearing bush. Newly cleared land belongs to the man who clears it. This means that it is used by him, his household, and his children. The clan has no right to deprive him of this land, though the land is considered to be the property of the clan. If the land is cleared by the combined labor of a subclan its use belongs to the subclan.

Small, uninhabited islands are also clan owned. The clan claims exclusive ownership of all the land and fishing rights of its island. For example, the Naivotavota clan of Kambara claims ownership of Wangava; clans of Undu village own the island of Marambo; Vuanitavola clan owns the island of Tavunasithi; the islands of the central Fulanga lagoon belong to Nasava and Vandravandra clans and to Muanaira and to Naivindamu villages. 423

Cultivated fruit trees in the village—such as breadfruit, Tahitian chestnut, banana, and *ndawa*—belong to the man who plants them, and no one but the owner is allowed to pick the fruit. Fruit trees are inherited from father to son. If a tabu has been declared on the fruit trees, the owner of the fruit trees is not allowed to pick the fruit until after the first fruits' ceremony. If the owner's right over the fruit of his trees is not respected he marks them tabu by tying a coconut leaf round the trunk. This is called *tambu*. It serves to check but does not eliminate pilfering of ripe fruit by children during the [428] ● 423 674

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cannot be classed as a medium of exchange or true money. They are "valuables." (See Tueting, 25, p. 36.)

Whales' teeth are used only ceremonially. They are the most important objects of ceremonial exchange. A request accompanied by the ceremonial presentation of a whale's tooth cannot be refused without the loss of a great deal of prestige. Whales' teeth are acquired by chiefs and government officials as tribute from the people, hence the chiefs and the officials possess most of the whales' teeth in Fiji.

According to Mariner (19, p. 302), it formerly was dangerous for a man other than a chief to possess a whale's tooth. This is not true today. By amassing sufficient wealth a clan or an individual may acquire whales' teeth through ceremonial exchange.

In general, ownership of moveable property is determined by labor. Manufactured goods such as mats, sennit, coconut oil, and woodwork, made mainly by one individual or household, belong to the maker and are considered the property of the household. By the *kerokero* system (p. 207), however, they may be solicited at any time by the clan to be used for tribute or ceremonial exchanges. Objects which are the result of communal labor (such as houses, canoes, and barkcloth) and are paid for by means of feasts, are considered to be the property of the individual who organized and paid for the labor. The clan has an interest in them, since clan resources were used to make the payments. Other objects of communal industry such as large fishnets, turtle nets, and goods for tribute (canoes, sails, woodwork, mats, and tapa), which are the result of the combined efforts of a whole village, are considered to be village property. Government houses, turtle nets or large fish nets, and boats, made by island or district labor are the property of the district or island.

Personal possessions such as kilts, dance skirts, ornaments, fans, cane knives, baskets, and sleeping mats are the property of the individual but are always liable to be solicited, unless they are tabu. Designs (*kupetchi*) for rubbing on barkcloth are owned by individual women. They are inherited from a woman by her daughter. A man's private property is inherited by his sons. If the sons are young, his older brother becomes their guardian unless they are adopted into their mother's clan, in which case their mother's father or older brother becomes the guardian.

Incorporeal Property

Tales (*talanoa*) of clan traditions are owned by the clan and may be told only by the clan headman. The natives say this privilege is accorded to the headman out of respect. Medicines and spells are the property of the individual. They are usually kept secret and handed down from parent to child. I found no privately owned *mcke*.

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ward to Mothe, where they awaited a good wind. The trip to Tonga took about three full days. Semitchi remained for two years in Tonga and then returned to Lau on the cutter *Nakau*.

Woodwork

Wooden Bowls

The islands of Kambara, Fulanga, and Ongea produce most of the wooden bowls (*kumete*). They are made only by carpenters. The bowls are cut from a solid section of greenheart with metal-bladed adzes and are polished with the point of a boar's tusk (*i kari ni kumete*). The tusk is highly valued private property inherited from father to son.

There are several types of wooden bowls, and each type is made in several sizes.

Figure 9.—Types of *tanoa* rim profiles: a, *tanoa ntchina;* b, *sese ni tanoa* (type 1); c, *sese ni tanoa* (type 2).

The *tanoa ntchina* (fig. 10, *a*) is a round, gracefully curved bowl with inverted, shallow, dome-shaped body set on four strong, tapering legs. The rim is circular with convex upper surface. It forms an unbroken curve outward from the side walls (fig. 9, *a*). Between two legs is a perforated, V-shaped lug (*ndalingana*) by which the bowl is suspended with sennit. A section of a trunk of greenheart is split vertically down the center, each half furnishing material for one bowl. The surface where the split occurred is leveled with an adz. The carpenter, using two sticks as a gauge, traces with a sharp point an inner and an outer circle on the smooth surface to mark the edge of the rim and the cavity of the bowl. He then marks the position of the legs just inside the curve of the rim. He carves out the bowl with small adzes and polishes it with a boar's tusk. The *tanoa ntchina* is used as a kava bowl. The natives agree that it is an old Fijian type.

The *sese ni tanoa* is a round bowl with four legs and a V-shaped lug. It has a deeper cavity than the *tanoa ntchina* and differs from it in the curve of the rim. There are two types of *sese ni tanoa*. The rim of type 1 (fig. 9, *b*) in this study, is definitely bent outward. It forms an angle of almost ninety degrees with the side walls. The upper surface of the rim is flat. The rim of type 2 (fig. 9, *c*) in this study, extends upward to a straight edge (fig. 10, *b*). The legs of the *sese ni tanoa* are slightly more cylindrical and more

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type of spear, called *tavaiongea* (cut on Ongea) was made on Ongea of *mbau* barbed with points of greenheart. The following description of a *tavaiongea* spear, formerly belonging to the chief of Fulanga, was obtained from an informant in Muanaithake.

> The shaft of the spear, of greenheart or *mbau* wood, was about 4 meters long. It had two very fine, strong points each about 15 cm. long, made of the tail of the *vai* fish. They were fitted to the wooden point of the spear shaft and tied securely with very fine black sennit (*mangimangi matai lalai ai lawa ni moto*), which was wrapped around the spear from the pointed end to the middle of the shaft. Above the points, secured to the shaft in the sennit, were six sharp barbs made of the same wood as the spear.

Ongea men say, however, that the *tavaiongea* did not have a point of bone.

None of the old men questioned had seen a bow and arrow, but they had heard that the bow was formerly made of mangrove, *moli* (trees of the *Citrus* group of Rutaceae), or *mbau* and tied with sennit. The arrow was made of a single piece of *mbau* or greenheart.

Exact information regarding the sling could not be obtained. Slingstones were unworked. No slingstones of baked clay were found.

Baskets

Baskets (*kato*) are made of plaited coconut leaflets. The most common type is the *kato mbolambola* made and used mainly by men for carrying raw and cooked food. The type is common in western Polynesia. It is called *'ato fili tasi* in Samoa and has been described by Buck (2, pp. 189-194, figs. 97-99, pls. 12, *B* and 13, *A-D*). Other coconut-leaf baskets made by men are the *kato musu* and the *kato vuni* used as food containers.

WOMEN'S CRAFTS

Barkcloth

DISTRIBUTION OF THE CRAFT

The distribution of tapa making in Lau depends on the quality of the local paper mulberry and on the presence of tapa making specialists, women who belong to certain clans and hand down their art and tools to their daughters. Paper mulberry is found on every island, but the best quality for making tapa is grown only on Namuka and Mothe, the tapa making centers of southern Lau. However, of the six islands studied, tapa is made also on the island of Kambara.

Southern Lau and Lakemba are known for the type of tapa made into long sheets, called *ngatu*. This is an acceptable gift in any presentation ceremony and especially in demand as tribute to the high chief at Lakemba. It is highly prized throughout Fiji. Barkcloth in Lau is made into sheets according to two methods which have been called in this study the Fijian and